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551 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-
605 cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal con-
607 nections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian.
522 Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child.
[861] On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon
[431] the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and
[437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son.
[171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older
[835] man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs,
624 Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any
[988] chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out
● 537 those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piqui* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course. 622 537

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself. 622

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited. 622 476

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work. 622 592 554 [123] [574] [609]

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male. 622 554 [756] [755]

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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outright rebellion. Despite a great deal of grumbling and non-compliance, they still tacitly recognized Maibu as chief.

One of Maibu's main prerogatives was his talking function. He alone had the role of exhorter of the people. Other men would be "ashamed," he said, to speak so. Most of Maibu's speeches were delivered at night in the men's circle or before work started in the morning. The attitude of his audience ranged from interest to bored indifference and outright ridicule. One morning Maibu lay in his hammock and shouted for everyone to go out to gather fruit. The initial response to this was a shout from some of the houses, telling him to be quiet. Later some people drifted out of the village carrying baskets, and still later others followed, grumbling that they were being driven from the village. This was a common complaint. Because of the tone in which it was said, Quain thought at first that they were actually being exiled.

The chief had no symbols of office outside of the above prerogatives; yet a deference of sorts was shown him. When Maibu entered the men's circle or Quain's house, someone always got up to give him a seat. Tobacco was usually supplied him, and the donor would roll the cigarette and light it before making the presentation. Even the men who told Quain that Maibu was not a "real chief" made these gifts. Maibu himself did not hesitate to send someone across the village through the rain to fetch something. These favors were usually performed by his kinsmen and co-residents, although occasionally more distant persons obliged. On the other hand, Maibu was expected to be generous towards all the other Trumaí. Nearly everything that Quain gave him passed to other hands. Maibu did not even have a bow of his own.

Maibu's poverty was attributable in part to his heavy gift obligations and in part to the fact that he had no garden. He said to Quain that he did not plant because he was a chief. However, he was not completely a non-producer. He went fishing, joined in collective labor, and helped his wife in gathering. At none of these tasks did he occupy himself strenuously. The only articles that he manufactured were arrows and spears. He thus made no trade commodities, relying on others, principally his co-residents, for all his artifacts and food. On most days he did little except talk, sleep, and philander with the unmarried women.

Inheritance of the chieftaincy was nominally patrilineal. Maibu, however, was the son of the daughter of the Trumaí chief whom von den Steinen had met, indicating that the office can pass matrilineally if there are no male heirs available. (Maibu's brother's son, Jawaku, adopted by Maibu through the levirate, was to have been the next Trumaí chief.) But the Trumaí chief reported by Galvão nine years later was Aloari, who was only a distant relative of Maibu.[8] What happened in the years between 1938 and 1947 is not known, but it is apparent that

[8] This information was received verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão.

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master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently. This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumai gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.